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actually has provided the Orokaiva with a reliable and substantial cash income for some years. This is true to a very minor extent for the third cash crop promoted on a major scale, copra, which was grown especially near the coast. The coffee is processed and sent to a co-operative factory as parchment, for which purpose many villages own one or more hullers. Copra is supposed to be dried in driers built in the villages, but the one I saw in Inonda had broken down and seems unlikely to be repaired.

Clothing. The traditional Orokaiva costume was a skirt for women and a perineal band for men (Williams 1930: 32–4). Boys went naked until some time before puberty, girls until after puberty seclusion. These garments were made of barkcloth obtained from trees which were mostly grown in gardens for this purpose. Larger garments were used for wrapping round the shoulders in cold weather, and also for shrouds. This mode of dress was abandoned in the 1950s, so that today the Orokaiva buy their clothes almost entirely from trade stores and at mission bazaars. Traditional dress is used for dances, initiation ceremonies and other special occasions. For this reason bark-cloth trees (such as the *ajimo*) are found rather infrequently in gardens today. Bark-cloth is still being painted with decorations in traditional style and with a mixture of traditional and trade dyes.

Housing. Villages are in flat clearings where the grass is kept scrupulously cut and from which the women regularly sweep away rubbish. Houses (*bande*) are built in two facing rows, each house normally being occupied by one nuclear family. The roof of sago thatch slopes down from a central ridgepole. Wall construction has been in various styles since Australian contact, but today vertically set sago-branch midribs are becoming old fashioned in some areas and vertically laid shingles, about 6 ft. by 5⅜ ins., are being adopted in villages desiring to show they are tuned in to modern life. A great number of tree species must be used for the various parts of the house. Materials are taken as much as possible from reverted gardens which contain small trees. For a number of purposes large trees with trunks of high-quality slow-growing wood are considered essential. These trees have to be obtained from areas of bush much older than the usual reverted gardens. On the Mount Lamington foothills, such areas are very scarce. Trees of this quality tend to be the subject of gift exchange as between families, a subject to be discussed below.

Though it is each man's responsibility to build his own house, it is usual to call on helpers, especially sons, brothers and brothers-in-law, to help with construction. Recent changes in house construction include the increasing use of nails, though not for flooring; a remarkable increase in house sizes; the change in wall construction already mentioned, and a number of measures to 'improve' hygiene: lavatories, rubbish holes, pens for chickens, windows. The windows, an innovation promoted by the government to combat tuberculosis, are considered too uncomfortable in cold, wind or rain. Accordingly, they are always covered over with pieces of timber which can be removed if the patrol officer insists.[6]

Bachelors' houses (*oro*) are of precisely the same size and construction as the ordinary *bande*. The more prominent men of the village build themselves small meeting platforms, covered with a roof but lacking walls, for the entertainment of visitors (*arara*). In the gardens, we find small houses with an earth floor, no walls, but a platform just below roof level. People sit in these garden houses

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that it be there for his mother and father to eat. As he slept that night before the feast, Ombota stole the food. That man's garden was empty. He had no food, so he had nothing for the feast. Therefore, looking for food, he had stolen that taro for his mother.

The day broke, the feast was in progress and Gasi's mother and father were very hungry. Then Gasi looked about for them. Straight away his parents asked: 'Where did you prepare food for us? We are now very hungry.'

That boy asked in reply: 'Where is the taro I fetched for you?' – 'We have no taro and we are very hungry.' Upon returning inside the house to look, Gasi then saw that the taro had gone. So he went round the houses to look for that taro and saw it lying in Ombota's house.

As Ivi and Gasi quarrelled with Ombota, the mother and father went down to Erehata creek, taking with them their entire small house, as it stood on its posts. They floated down that stream until it met the river Embara. The woman's name was Jomiko and her husband was Sirere.

They stopped when they had reached a place called Sorovi-Ereremba. Meanwhile their sons, about to give the feast, inquired where their parents were but could not find them. When the battle (*isoro*) was over, Gasi and the oldest son, Havurure, went away to find their mother and father. Upon arriving at the place called Sorovi-Ereremba, they saw them where they had come to a stop. Their parents told them: 'We are staying here but you must go back and feast.' The sons then went back, but their mother and father stayed behind.

At that time, their parents' words were as follows: 'We are staying here. In bad times you will hear no speech from us but if times are good, and you intend to hold a feast, then listen to our speech.' Thus they spoke.

Sirere turned into a stone which is still there today. In time of hunger we do not hear his speech. In good times, when a feast is about to be held, we hear his speech.

My small tale about feasts is finished.

Before discussing the meaning of this tale, I should explain briefly some ethnographic details. It is customary to hold a feast on the occasion of a departure, so the brothers' decision to hold one agrees with modern custom. On the other hand, it is irregular indeed to hold a feast unless it is known in advance that there is enough food for all the guests. A feast is always preceded by elaborate and highly ritualised checks to make sure that the supply of taro is abundant. We may regard the tale quoted here as a mythological charter for these ritualised checks which are discussed in detail in Chapter VII. It is still usual, however, for guests at a feast to be fed in the individual households where they are staying. Thus the taro used for cooking would be kept, as in this tale, in individual homes. The gift taro, laid out on platforms, falls in a different category.

The house in which the parents floated away must be understood as the prototype of the feast house. This is a small structure placed at one end of the central plaza (*araha*) of a village. It is built a few weeks before the feast and it is in front of and in the feast house that rituals are performed during the whole of the period that ceremonies last. We may take it that Jomiko and Sirere are

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773 574 demigods who are believed to have stablished the institution of building a feast house. As this couple were in the feast house during the fight, it may be assumed that they were, in a ritual sense, the feast-givers. A modern feast also always has a [345] person occupying the office of feast leader who is charged with the ritual as well [554] as the organisational tasks of the feast. This leader (*pondo kiari embo*) is a man acting alone, and there is no mention that his wife has any function. This is a curious discrepancy between myth and custom, especially as elsewhere in New Guinea the feast-givers are often an elderly couple (e.g. Landtman 1927).

773 574 787 I was told that the people of Hamburata, before holding a feast, always consult the stone mentioned in this tale. When the wind blows through it, it makes a whistling sound, and is the sign that a feast may be held. This may be regarded as part of the ritual precautions necessary to ensure that a feast will be successful, but it is a purely local custom. The rule that a feast may not be held in hungry times is quoted and observed by all Orokaiva informants, of whatever locality. For the purpose of my analysis it is more important than the rule concerning the stone.

773 574 This tale resembles the one previously quoted in that both are concerned with a quarrel (*isoro*). The affair at the feast was not just an ebullient sham fight (*embogo*), but a serious battle, as the term *isoro* implies. But the messages of the two myths differ, in fact they seem to contradict each other. The message of the feasting myth may be summed up as follows:

1. In original time, men might hold some kind of feast at any time, but since the days of Jomiko and Sirere such permanent amity was no longer permitted. The *isoro* ended it.
2. Feasting was henceforth permitted only after special precautions had been taken and special permission obtained from the demigod. It had become an exceptional event, for which a special feast house had to be built.
3. The main criterion for the appropriateness of a feast was abundance of food.
4. A feast could be permitted only if perfect peace reigned among the guests. If the guests quarrelled the demigod's spirit would at once depart and the feast would be ritually void or even calamitous.

773 574 728 While the *isoro* was mentioned in the myth of the stolen lashing leads to a permanent state of war, the *isoro* in the feasting myth leads only to a restriction on the occasions when feasts may properly be held, and a rule to keep the peace for the feast's duration. How can these two apparently discrepant ideas about the nature of *isoro* be reconciled? My Orokaiva informants considered the two myths as stating different aspects of the same principle. Certainly *isoro* is (or used to be, before the Australians came) an expression of mutual anger that will never end. But it may be briefly interrupted, and it is good that from time to time the anger should cease and that men should then come together for a common feast.

Williams describes these interruptions exremely well:

> The lively monotony of warfare was broken by intervals of peace. A truce-making was called *peka*, and the first emissaries were women who, born members of one tribe, had married into or been captured by the

incontinently appropriated by her husband. The sharing of a fruit, especially a twin fruit, is a frequent practice when two people wish to establish or restore specially close bonds with one another. It constitutes a mutual pledge of friendship by agreeing to have a feast and take all the taro; they are re-establishing it by the betelnut-sharing. Thus we meet again the theme of the removal of conflict and the promoting of communion that dominates the feasting institution.

After the meeting, an invitation is sent to the chosen village. This takes the form of a small preliminary gift of betelnut and food, symbolic of the bounty to come later. The sending of this gift is called *sope ikari*. The men begin to build the feast house, a special structure which looks quite different from modern houses, but seems to correspond in almost every respect to the design of ordinary pre-contact Orokaiva houses. A style of carving used on the posts of modern feast houses seems to derive from the taro cult prevalent in the Northern District shortly after 1914 (see Chinnery and Haddon 1917, Williams 1928). The house is normally ready about a month before the feast. The ritual task of drawing down the spirits to dwell in the house and possess the offerers of sacrifice now begins. There is an all-night dance in which only initiated men participate, and at which bullroarers and flutes are used to draw the spirits. (For these instruments see Chinnery and Beaver 1915, Williams 1930: 195.) Though informants claimed that this ritual was now abandoned, I know it was enacted at Urarituru, two miles from Sivepe, in 1967. In some villages this dance is repeated (as Williams also notes, 1930: 230) from time to time before the feast, while it is also general practice to sit in front of the feast house at night and sing feast chants, which I heard one evening at Inonda. Each chant dealt either in forthright direct language or more symbolically with one of the objects necessary for a feast: meat, taro, various other vegetables and fruits, clothes, ornaments, betelnut, etc., telling them all to be plentiful. Another chant was addressed to the smoke arising from the fire inside the feast-house, telling it to draw to the village an abundance of guests. As these chants proceed at night, people busy themselves by bringing in food for the feast, preparing ceremonial clothing, and ornaments to be worn by the hosts.

The main effect of these preparations is to induce in the offerers of sacrifice a psychological identification with the *dema* of primeval time. Very little agricultural work is done in this part of the year except harvesting so that virtually all productive energy goes into ceremonial preparations. Those who are to play the role of visitors must likewise prepare, as they are usually called upon to dance, and so need to make or renovate the same paraphernalia and rehearse their dances. The change of identity that occurs when people wear ceremonial dress is strongly emphasised. Everybody must act as though this dress actually makes the wearer unrecognisable. Informants variously explain that the wearer is a wallaby, a flower, one of a number of species of birds perhaps, or an *embahi* – a spirit. Williams has described how initiands are expected to show fear of the *embahi* at initiation and be mystified by the disguise. Initiation, indeed, is the ritual whereby young people learn the dual identity of men: the everyday people one sees about the village, and the ancestral spirits which may at any time transform these familiar people into beings of primal time. The curious nasal sound of the feasting songs emphasises this new identity.

361 cultivating gardens that are more than a mile or so away from his village.

241 311 When Rimoldi made his careful notes of cultivated gardens, these seemed to be predominantly in the Northeastern part of the village domain. These gardens are ordinarily fallowed for eight years or so and then cultivated for one season. The gardens in the Southwestern part of the village domain were undoubtedly being cultivated shortly after the eruption; they are again being cultivated today. It therefore seems to make sense that after the eruption people were living in Pamba, in that part of the domain and that the new Sivepa is again in that area.

731 361 Inonda experienced three shifts since the eruption: first to the vicinity of the airstrip (1951), then to the village described by Crocombe and Hogbin (1955), then to the village where I myself stayed (established 1964; see Map VII).[A] The pre-eruption village was just behind this new village, again suggesting an orderly exploitation of garden land. In 1964, Inonda returned to garden land that had been fallowed since the eruption. People told me that before shifting to the present site, they had to walk much too far to their gardens.

361 659 While the layout of Pamba was traditional--with the houses close together and little space between the rows--both post-eruption settlements of Sivepa and all the four post-war Inonda settlements followed what one may call the Australian standard plan: two fairly regular parallel rows of equidistant houses facing each other, with a few houses joining the two rows, thus forming a quadrangle, and a wide field in the middle, used for playing soccer and basketball and as a separation of the two "halves" of the village which tend [364] to belong to different clans. A modern village will contain, in addition to residences, privies for each family, while some have [345] built a hall for the women's club, sponsored by the government. Inonda built a very stylish one, using as a floor a slab of concrete [575] which the Americans laid down during the war. Sivepa got no further than the foundations, after which a quarrel blocked progress. In addition all villages contain a number of arara or jataka--covered platforms where men sit and receive visitors. Many villages, including [591] Sivepa, still have a bachelor's house. Typically, each house is occupied by a two-generation family comprising no more than one married couple. A stream is always close to the village.

The change in village layout as between Pamba and the two later Sivepa villages must be discussed in a little more detail as the eruption was clearly influential here. The Australian government has long been concerned about village layouts; this interest went beyond consolidations and included the improvement of housing 659 standards, village sanitation and roads. We find Wilfred Beaver, 364 in the Annual Report for 1914-15, already claiming that he had "insisted on these three essentials in village life," in the

A [See Cat. 116, p. End Map 7--Analyst]